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"Nobody Know But Jesus": The Development of Christianity in the African American Community

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Chapter 4

"Nobody Know But Jesus"

The Development of Christianity in the African American Community

The classic examination of religion within the enslaved African American community has been Albert Raboteau's *Slave Religion*, which maintains that a dramatic movement toward conversion to Christianity occurred during the antebellum period. This was the mainstream view of many historians, stated most forcefully by Eugene Genovese in his classic study, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* in which he stated, "a great burst of proselytizing among the slaves followed the Nat Turner revolt." Genovese added "Christianity laid the foundations of protonational consciousness" for the African American community,[1] thus becoming a central component of African American identity.

This chapter finds that Christian influence was indeed widespread in the African American communities of Missouri. However, it addresses some questions raised by a few scholars who reject Raboteau's analysis of findings about slave religion, such as the influential study by historian, Sterling Stuckey who argued that "the great bulk of the slaves were scarcely touched by Christianity." He accepted that Christianity influenced certain African American religious practices, but maintained that slave religion, that might appear Christian, or nominally Christian to an outsider such as a slaveholder or Northern traveler in the South, was scarcely Christian at all. Its Christian appearance was, at least in part, a subterfuge to conceal the African nature of the slaves' religion from watchful Whites. He declares that "Christianity provided a protective exterior" for African Americans' religious rituals and that "operating under cover of Christianity, vital aspects of Africanity . . . could more easily be practiced openly."[2]

Stuckey also questioned the significance of Albert Raboteau's conclusions regarding the number of Black church members in the antebellum South. Raboteau points to an estimate by W. E. B. DuBois that there were "468,000 Black church members in the South in 1859" as an indicator of the degree to which Christianity had spread within slave communities. Raboteau argued that the figure suggests a high degree of Christian influence spread among the slave population over the course of the antebellum period. Stuckey dismisses Black membership figures in both the antebellum period and the post–Civil War decades as remarkably low and draws an opposite conclusion from Raboteau.[3]

The evidence obtained in this study strongly suggests that Christian influence was indeed widespread in Missouri slave communities. Indeed, Christianity was an important part of the cultural milieu of Afro-

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Missourians, and any African American in the state, at the end of the antebellum period, would have had some awareness of the basic aspects of Christianity. Despite that some use membership numbers to maintain that there was little Christianity among enslaved communities, church membership is a poor indicator of the influence of Christianity within slave culture if one supposes that it requires a very high rate of church membership to indicate influence. Indeed, in comparison to the twentieth century, antebellum membership figures as a percentage of the population are low for both Whites and Blacks. Many more people attended a church at least sometimes than ever actually joined a church. The influence of the churches and Christianity on American culture in general and on African American culture extends well beyond the church membership and touched even those who were never church-goers and even the irreligious. One need not have been a Christian to have awareness of its content and form and hence sustain some influence from its presence in the community. Also, evidence indicates that the most influential religious services of enslaved Christians took place within the slave community, not in the White churches, but in brush arbors and praise houses thus assuring that church membership rolls are not the most important indicator of how many individuals in the slave communities may have considered themselves Christians in at least some sense.[4]

This study takes the self-professed Christianity of enslaved people more seriously. While the Christianity of bond people did indeed differ significantly from that of both the pro-slavery church and that of Northern evangelicals because of the influence of the slaves' traditional African based folk religion, it was nonetheless still Christian. This study rejects the prioritization of Europeanized theologies or forms as the standard for defining Christianity or declaring who was or was not Christian. If people saw themselves as Christian or identified as such, then they were. It was indeed racist and/or paternalist outsiders who, upon seeing the differences between slaves' Christian rituals and that of the White church, condemned Afro-Christianity as "a delusive clothing" that concealed nothing more than what they considered as heathen superstition. As Genovese stated, "the slaves' Christianity cannot be understood as a façade behind which the countryside practiced pagan rites or wallowed in something called superstition."[5]

Furthermore, it seems clear that during the antebellum period, adherence to Christianity grew among the slave population as the nineteenth century advanced toward the Civil War. Otherwise, the rapid growth of the Black church immediately after the Civil War is scarcely explainable. In fact, in Missouri, the tremendous growth in the number of Black churches actually began before the war ended as African American evangelists started to cover the state even during the war. This growth was possible because those who sought to open new churches did not have to attract audiences whom Christian ideas had not previously touched and convert them to a new, perhaps questionable, religion. Rather, the rapid growth

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in African American churches during and after the Civil War built on trends that were already well in motion during the decades prior to the war.[6]

The founders of new African American churches during the Civil War and in the years following merely organized the believers who were already present in large number. Many of those who had never been members of White churches accepted the Christian ideas of their co-bondsmen, and at least some basic knowledge of Christianity was widespread throughout the African American population. Individuals without any knowledge of Christian precepts would have been rare indeed. Among the factors that contributed to the spread of Christianity within the slave community during the antebellum decades were evangelization via the circuit riders, camp meetings, and especially the presence and work of African American church members and preachers. This chapter will examine how these factors created the dissemination of African American Christian thought throughout the African American population.[7]

The decline of Calvinism in American religion contributed to Christianity's growing appeal to African Americans. This was especially true as the Methodists, who were committed to Arminian theology, became ever more prominent and grew to become the largest denomination in the United States. The influential historian Nathan O. Hatch has argued that the concepts of liberty and freedom that were widespread in the post–Revolutionary War United States spurred Americans to shun Calvinist predestination in favor of beliefs that attributed more control to the individual over their own destiny. Furthermore, the Methodists' concept of free will dove-tailed with the political ideals of democracy. Moreover, Hatch stated, "people at the bottom end of the social scale" and especially African Americans had little use for Calvinism and its implication that God had ordained for them to remain in their lowly status. Methodists led the charge against Calvinism and their crusade against that doctrine probably accounts for at least part of their appeal to African Americans.[8]

Even so, a small proportion of church going slaves in Missouri joined Calvinist Baptist churches. For example, the Sand Run Primitive Baptist Church in Lincoln County had enough Black members that the church built a partition to keep them separate from the rest of the congregation during church services. As a Primitive Baptist congregation, Sand Run was an anti-missionary church that espoused a strict version of predestination. However, most African Americans who joined church were members of either Methodist churches or missionary Baptist churches. Generally, African American religion rejected strict predestination and limited atonement, the belief that Jesus died for only part of humanity. To illustrate, New Salem Baptist Church in Boone County, which had a large African American membership, split

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over the question of missions in 1842. Those members who opposed missions and held to a narrow view of predestination left the church and formed the New Liberty Baptist Church. All of New Salem's African American members remained with the church and New Liberty never had any Black members.[9]

In the early decades of the 1800s there were few churches in the Missouri territory outside of Catholic churches in several towns near the Mississippi River. During that period, the earliest Protestant ministers rode circuits where they went from town to town in a regular rotation to provide religious instruction in settler communities and isolated areas. The usage of circuit riders was a tactic that Methodists developed, and they employed it extensively in Missouri. Additionally, while Missouri was still comparatively sparsely populated, ministers from other denominations sometimes used similar methods. For example, John Mason Peck, the influential Baptist missionary, rode a circuit in Missouri in the 1820s that was very comparable to that of a Methodist circuit rider. To complete a circuit, a minister would typically travel from 200 to 500 miles over a period of four to six weeks. After one 1825 excursion in Missouri, that probably would have made dedicated Methodist circuit riders envious, Peck recorded that from September 2 to mid-October: "I have rode on horseback eight hundred and thirty miles, preached twenty seven times regular discourses, formed five branch Bible societies, attended four Baptist associations, two Methodist camp meetings, besides making a number of addresses, and preparing the way for other Bible societies hereafter. This has occupied forty-five days."[10]

It was such efforts as this one by Peck that helped to infuse Missouri culture, including African Americans, with Christian influences. Peck found the circuit riding system to be so effective that he recommended it for use by Baptists on a broad basis in Missouri and Illinois. Peck also noted that he witnessed more conversions "amongst the blacks, than the whites" on the portion of his circuit that was in St. Louis.[11]

By utilizing the circuit system, Methodist ministers and others established classes and churches throughout Missouri. Such traveling preachers were common and sermonized to many enslaved African American on their routes. Because speaking to enslaved people was often not a priority with many of these early preachers, the mention of enslaved African Americans is often only incidental in their writings. However, it is clear that circuit riders were a common phenomenon in the establishment of churches in early Missouri and that bond men and women were ordinarily present whenever circuit riders conducted meetings in their vicinity.[12]

Settlers depended on circuit riders to meet their desire for church services in their new communities. For example, settlers in Marion County and neighboring Lewis County who came from Methodist backgrounds were waiting when Methodist circuit riders finally came to the area. By the circuit rider method, ministers such as Peck, the Methodists Jesse Hale, Jesse Walker, and later Jacob Lanius, along

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with settler preachers, such as David Doyle, a Baptist pastor in Boone County, Missouri, helped to establish and maintain many churches in Missouri.[13]

In the process they disseminated Christian theology into enslaved communities as they preached. In most cases this was probably coincidental as many circuit riders or bi-vocational preachers did not consider a special mission to spread the gospel among bondsmen and women as a necessary part of their ministry. But individuals such as Peck, who took a specific interest in African Americans, at least in Missouri, may have been an exception in that respect along with Frederick Starr. Starr, a Presbyterian minister in Weston in the 1850s also made a special attempt to reach African Americans although he had to prematurely cut his efforts short because of opposition from local slaveholders who suspected that he harbored abolitionist sympathies.[14]

Lanius specifically mentioned the need to reach bond people when on March 16, 1834, he wrote reflectively: “I have recently determined to pay more attention to our slave population than I have hitherto done. Great and mighty are the efforts now made for the salvation of the world . . . but nothing is done for the slaves on our circuits.” Despite his stated intent, most of his references to bond people are coincidental to his narrative. His comments do, however, make clear that sizable numbers of African Americans were normally at the religious services he held in churches, homes, and camp meetings. After an 1834 meeting in Monroe County during which there were several conversions, Lanius happily proclaimed in his journal, “glory to God it was a happy time among the blacks as well as the whites.” In 1840 at a Methodist society near Perryville in Southeast Missouri he observed that the society included seventy-three White members and “more than 30 black.”[15]

Regardless of the relative importance that circuit riders attached to evangelizing enslaved African Americans, they nevertheless disseminated Christian theology throughout Missouri and made it accessible to most people including African Americans. Partly because of their efforts, many antebellum Missouri residents, including the enslaved, had access to Christian religious services on a regular basis. Besides the churches that circuit riders started or serviced, the early settlers also established many churches themselves, especially Baptists, through the bi-vocational method. Baptist preachers sometimes emigrated to Missouri as settlers themselves. They came with other groups of settlers or their families to establish farms or businesses and built-up church congregations on the side. The bi-vocational model was common among Baptists where an individual engaged in farming or some other occupation as his primary support, but also doubled as a minister. One example was Doctor David Doyle of Boone County. Doyle served as the pastor of Little Bonne Femme Baptist Church and New Salem Baptist Church in addition to practicing his profession as a medical doctor.[16]

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Slaves were often among the first members of those early churches. Many of them had already been members of churches before they came to Missouri, usually migrating to Missouri with the enslavers who claimed them. For example, after the founding of Cold Water Baptist Church in St. Louis County in 1809, Hannah, a bond woman was among the first to join the church. By 1818, this small church had only seventeen members, five of whom were Black, and it was the Black members who attended services most regularly as there was a great deal of absenteeism among its White members.[17]

African Americans were also among the founding members of several churches In Marion County, including the Bethel Baptist Church that Jeremiah Taylor started in May 1823.[18] Its membership of twenty-two included Henry Beckwood, Thomas, and Ester, who were African American members.[19] Taylor and Spencer Clark started the Prairie Baptist Church in Palmyra where Polly, an African American, was one of the founding members on March 30, 1833, and Clark was probably the first pastor. [20] Near Hannibal, Baptists organized The Zoar Baptist Church "at the home of Stewart Self" and the eight founding members included Maria and Providence, two African American women.[21] That church moved to Hannibal in July 1841 changing its name to First Baptist Church in 1845 at which time, its membership consisted of 155 White members and sixty African American members.[22] Methodists in Hannibal organized the city's first ME Church in 1835 and by 1840 it reported 521 White members and fifty-one African American members. [23]

At Frist Presbyterian Church of Jefferson City, five enslaved people, William, Putney, Dick, Polly, and Mariah, the property of Samuel L. Hart, were among the founding members who organized the church on June 15, 1834.[24] The Hart family like many Missouri settlers, came to Missouri from Virginia with their enslaved people.[25] At Jefferson City's First Baptist Church, three African Americans, Jenny, General, and Adam, were on among the fourteen founding members on July 8, 1837.[26]

African Americans were also a large presence at camp meetings if only because bond people took advantage of the opportunity that camp meetings provided for them to get away from the rigors of their day-to-day regimen and socialize with other African Americans. Camp meetings were outdoor evangelistic gatherings that could last for several days or weeks and drew attendants from a wide geographic area. The tradition of holding camp meetings began at the turn of the eighteenth century and were especially prominent during the Great Revival in Kentucky in 1800 that is often considered as the onset of the Second Great Awakening, a movement of Christian revivalism in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Although camp meetings, which were very emotional in character, took place throughout the United States, observers at the time and historians in their aftermath have associated them with individualism and the "frontier," that is, areas where large White settlement was relatively new.[27]

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The camp meetings were interdenominational in composition across regions but, it was the Methodists who would made the most use of them. William McKendree and Jessie Walker, both early Methodist ministers in the West, held the first camp meeting in Missouri in 1807. McKendree held more camp meetings in the territory in 1808. Other camp meetings ensued as several prominent Methodist clergymen, including Walker, John Scripps, and Lorenzo Dow conducted meetings in the state over the next several years. These camp meetings were important tools for the evangelists because the population was scattered and churches were relatively few, so they were effective tools to gain a wide audience and help build new congregations or to win new members for established churches.[28]

In 1820, Jesse Walker held the first camp meeting in St. Louis but was disappointed with the outcome after local residents showed little interest in the meeting. At that time interest in the Protestant churches in St. Louis was light. Baptists and Presbyterians had only one church each, and both were still new. For example, the First Baptist Church had begun operation only two years earlier and it ultimately ended in failure. Nevertheless, despite the disappointing outcome, Walker's camp meeting was still the first major Methodist foray into the city, laying groundwork for later activity in St. Louis.[29]

Several ministers active in Missouri including, Peck, Scripps, and Jacob Lanius noted the common presence of African Americans at camp meetings in Missouri. At one camp meeting in Gasconade in 1836, a Black Methodist minister assisted Lanius.[30] African American attendance at these meetings was similar to that in the Southeastern states where slaves took advantage of camp meetings by using them as a place to socialize and make connections with other African Americans. Such as when Frederick Douglass recalled having trouble with the slaveholding Auld family after he went to a camp meeting without first obtaining their permission. Douglass and his companions had planned to go to a camp meeting outside Baltimore and consequently, Douglass was late in making a payment to Hugh Auld. Slaves considered camp meeting season as one of the most celebratory times of the year as they created something of a festive atmosphere that allowed them to mingle with their peers from miles around.[31]

Since people viewed camp meetings as almost as much a social event as a religious occasion, enslaved people welcomed the opportunity they provided to worship, socialize, and meet with their peers from other plantations, farms, and communities. For that reason, they attended camp meetings on their own when possible. Furthermore, White churchmen urged slaveholders to allow or encourage their slaves to attend camp meeting. Even individuals who were not interested in religion attended camp meetings simply for the overall festive atmosphere at the event. But even those who attended simply for the revelry, would have come away with more knowledge about Christianity and exposure to the faith.[32]

Many camp meetings took place on a regular basis at sites where participants built permanent camp meeting grounds where they could hold gatherings annually or in some cases, more often. These

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permanent campgrounds formed a part of what the historian Jon Butler termed the sacralization of the landscape, that African Americans would have seen. While the first churches in Missouri frequently held their services in homes or public buildings, they would quickly plan to build churches, and eventually dotted the landscape with them. The building of distinctive church structures constituted a major part of creating that sacred landscape. Permanent camp meeting grounds were equally religious structures that were recognized and drew participants from miles around. As such, they too, helped to sacralize the landscape of Missouri and contributed to African Americans awareness and familiarity with Christianity.[33]

The camp meeting was a means of disseminating knowledge about Christian precepts throughout antebellum Missouri. In some cases, they could be a primary means by which slaves who attended them, or heard of them, learned Christian teachings. They were a primary route of dissemination of knowledge about Christianity in circumstances where religious instruction might otherwise have been limited. For example, Betty Brown, an ex-slave, remarked that during the slavery era she "didn't know what church was n'er school nuther," but she did know that two men held camp meetings near the plantation where she lived and that those were Christian gatherings.[34] Similarly, Richard Brunner, a freedman who was an adult when the Civil War started, exemplified camp meetings' role in the spread of Christianity among slaves. Brunner told a WPA interviewer that he and his companions went to camp meetings during the antebellum period and that he even experienced conversion during one.[35]

AME minister Jordan W. Early noted that African Americans "would run many miles to camp meetings and religious associations." Once there, attendees would climb trees to see if necessary. Early noted that people at the meetings learned scripture from songs and quotations in sermons.[36]

Just as in the White churches of the state, the camp meetings' rituals also recreated the social structure of Missouri even in the physical layout of the meetings. While slaves were an obvious part of these meetings, they also segregated the races in a manner intended to remind slaves that they were in a subordinate position in society and that, according to the church in the slave states, it was God's will that they should be in that position. Just as in White churches, at camp meetings there was separate seating between African American attendees and Whites with a partition between the races. Often, while the mass of White worshippers listened to the White preachers speaking at the main podium, Black people met simultaneously in a separate area where they listened to a different preacher speaking specifically to them. This pattern of segregation was evident within the camp meeting movement from its beginning at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, and meetings continued to be racially segregated by custom. The M.E. Church, South took that a step further in 1846 when the denomination officially recommended that slaves have their prayer meetings behind the pulpit. Preferring not to leave African Americans to their own devices,

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a White minister was to conduct the prayer meetings with assistance from a Black leader when one was available. The use of racial segregation and White supervision over African Americans implied divine sanction for a social order that kept people separated by race with those of African descent in a subordinate status.[37]

While segregation at camp meetings met the dictates of White supremacy for members of the slaveholding class, African Americans, for their own reasons, also welcomed the opportunity to meet separately from Whites. This allowed them to be more uninhibited in their activities during the camp meeting, and that enhanced its effectiveness in gaining African American converts. As historian Charles Johnson stated, "the Negroes never seemed to feel entirely free to work in their own way until the white people closed their services and went to their tents."[38] Richard Brunner, who later became a preacher himself, was just one of many African Americans who underwent a conversion experience at a camp meeting.[39] As the intent of camp meeting revivals was to expand the extent of church membership, they proved to be quite effective. They were the vehicle through which many bond people experienced religious conversion in a Christian setting.[40]

The diary of Jacob Lanius indicates that Methodists were still holding many camp meetings in Missouri during the 1830s. He recorded attending his "last camp meeting of the year" near Potosi, Missouri, in September 1837, where thirty people made professions of faith and twenty-seven joined Methodist societies.[41] While Scholars have maintained that camp meetings were in serious decline by the 1840s, Marie George Windell, a scholar who researched camp meetings in Missouri, found that the real decline in camp meetings there began in the 1850s. Even so, the tradition of holding camp meetings persisted into the late 1870s.[42]

By the 1840s, protracted meetings, held at a local church for several nights consecutively or longer, had already started to supplant camp meetings. For example, Columbia Baptist Church reported a protracted meeting in June 1840, during which time, James Hudson, an African American preacher, sought to unite with the church. While protracted meetings may not have been as large of a social event as camp meetings and drew participants from a smaller area, they were still effective tools for evangelism as people often joined church at those meetings.[43]

As one might expect, those in bondage often joined church together with other African Americans they knew during a protracted meeting at a nearby church, or they might decide to join at a church's regular services. New Salem Baptist Church was typical of churches with a relatively large Black membership, as most enslaved members of that church had joined in groups rather than individually at

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widely dispersed times. For example, five enslaved members joined New Salem together in October 1840.[44] That pattern indicated the lead role that African Americans had in drawing each other toward the Christian faith.

Likewise, the ministers with the most direct influence on the quarters and who were the most impactful on influencing others to become Christians or join churches were the Black preachers. Church records give only a small account of these individuals' work which was done mostly, if not entirely, among other slaves. According to Henry Clay Bruce, an enslaved man in central Missouri, most of the Black preachers could not read and write. He estimated the number of literate Black preachers as less than three in ten. If that was the case, African American preachers were not generally chosen for their education or scholastic ability rather, the Black preacher was an individual who preached because he believed that he had a specific calling to preach from God that was not contingent on education. Although they were usually not literate, Bruce observed that they were intelligent, pious, honest, and good speakers who had an exceptional memory.[45] Like the most accomplished conjurers, Black preachers could also be models of discipline. They had talents and charisma that the enslaved recognized and that could make an impression in enslaved communities. Also, interestingly, if Bruce's estimation was even approximate, at 3 in 10, they were still more likely to be literate than the overall enslaved population.

Other examples of Black preachers before the Civil War include Jesse Mills and Moses White. Neither of them was very educated, but both could read and write. Mills was literate despite his enslaved status.[46] Reverend Nicholas Cooper was a mulatto who preached for the Cumberland Presbyterian denomination in Boone County. Judge Robert C. Ewing who heard Cooper preach at Bethel Church stated that "Cooper had been a slave," and became a minister after "he obtained his freedom." Cooper's story partially illustrates why Presbyterians did not gain as many Black members as did the other leading evangelical churches, the Baptists and Methodists. Presbyterians insisted on an educated and well-trained clergy. This insistence on a minimum of education and training extended to any Black members who would seek to be preachers.[47]

As a result, there were few Black Presbyterian preachers, especially in comparison to Baptists and Methodists. Considering the key role that Black preachers had in gaining African American converts, the Presbyterians' lack of Black preachers was a handicap to them in attracting African American converts, although there were some exceptions among individual churches such as the Presbyterian Church in Fulton which did have a large Black membership.[48]

Cooper was free and sought a license to preach from the Presbytery of Missouri, but it ultimately denied his request for licensure. In April 1829, the Presbytery agreed to receive Cooper, however it

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appointed John Ball and William S. Potts as a committee to oversee Cooper's work and direct his studies for the Presbyterian ministry. But after a year Cooper had been unable to connect with a Presbyterian church or to meet with Ball and Potts to arrange a program of study, so the committee reported that Cooper was insufficiently informed for the Presbytery to authorize him as a preacher of the gospel. They further expressed concern that Cooper "never could be induced to study."[49]

The committee informed Cooper that the Presbytery would revoke his license unless he complied with a program of study and training. Cooper expressed embarrassment that he did not have the money "to pursue a course of study" and that providing for his family took priority. Given his material circumstances, he was not able to achieve the level of theological knowledge that the Presbyterians required of their licensed ministers. Cooper then requested the Presbytery to provide a recommendation for him to return to the "Indian Missionary Presbytery West of the Mississippi." The committee commented that "taking into consideration the peculiar circumstances of Mr. Cooper as a colored man and the want of provisions in our rules of discipline applicable to his case" and that he was "a man of good moral character and some natural talents, he may be useful to the church in some way." The committee, based on that recommendation, agreed to comply with Cooper's request and recommended that the Indian Missionary Presbytery take him back and that perhaps they might find some use for him. In comparison to Baptists and Methodists the road to licensure as a regular Presbyterian minister was difficult, even for free White men, and more so for African Americans. Consequently, most of the licensed Black preachers that slaves in Missouri heard were Baptists and Methodists.[50]

Despite their lack of formal education, as Henry Clay Bruce noted, the enslaved preachers were individuals of ability and initiative, and they were leaders in the slave community and free Black communities as well. For bondmen who were ambitious, entering the ministry was one of only a few ways to achieve status within the community. In the context of slavery where mainstream society excluded those who were in bondage and enslavement was a lifetime status, religion became, according to historian Leslie Howard Owens, not just "spiritual and emotional solace," but also an outlet for "personal attainment and satisfaction."[51]

Of the paths to status within the slave communities one was to become the slave driver, a foreman among the bond people of a plantation. While it was the slaveholder who chose the driver, the driver was usually selected because he had already shown the capacity to be a leader of his peers. Another path to status was to be a conjurer, who wielded a great deal of influence within the community because of their mystical powers, spiritual knowledge, and discipline. Many historians have argued however that it was actually the Christian preacher who was the most influential leader in the slave communities because slaves looked most to preachers for leadership. In fact, at times the slave driver, or foreman, was also a

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preacher. Similarly, while it might appear that there could be potential conflict between the conjurer and the preacher, some individuals combined the two roles. Furthermore, with the spread of Christian influence in the slave community, some, who would have previously become primarily conjurers, became Christian preachers instead.[52]

While enslaved people might listen to the White preachers on Sunday, White observers noticed that it was the Black preachers who aroused the most interest among slaves.[53] The Black preachers were the ones who had the most impact on their personal religious lives. As Bruce, the former slave explained, slaves felt freer to worship among themselves. While preachers in the White church admonished slaves to be obedient to their masters, in their own services, they did not have to tolerate demeaning proslavery sermons, censor themselves to avoid making statements that were not proslavery, or conform to the White church's style of worship. Although slaves met in the White church, they often had their own prayer meeting in the quarters beforehand.[54]

According to Bruce, the White church allowed Black people to hold services on Sunday night where the Black preacher would preach. However, in that context there was always a White person present to watch and ensure that the preacher would not say anything against slavery or the established social order. In such cases where the White church allowed a slave or free Black man to conduct services in the church, the preacher was one of the small cadre of African Americans who held licenses from the church to preach. The White church granted these preachers licenses that were contingent on their conduct. If he, and they were always men, engaged in conduct that White people considered as misbehavior, or preached sermons that might imply that the speaker had antislavery beliefs, the church could and would revoke his license.[55] This gave the slaveholders and their churches leverage with which to force Black preachers to preach sermons acceptable to slaveholders.

Bruce recalled one such Sunday night service where Tom Ewing, a Black preacher, caught up in the excitement of the sermon exclaimed to his congregation that in Christ they would be "free indeed, free from death, free from hell, free from work, free from the white folks." The White church rebuked Ewing for his outburst with its commentary on race that imagined a world where his audience was free from White people, and he was careful never to preach in that manner again, at least not in the presence of Whites. Not only could the preachers lose their license, but they could also receive punishment if their preaching displeased the White people by challenging the legitimacy of slavery and White supremacy. Historian Donald Mathews has confirmed that there was an obscurity in Black preaching because African American preachers attempted to conceal their preaching of doctrines that were antithetical to the institution of slavery from the slaveholding class.[56]

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James, an enslaved preacher in Columbia, Missouri, owned by James West, was exemplary. James had joined Columbia's First Baptist Church by letter in 1824. In July 1827, Allen McGuire, the new pastor of the church, reported James' request for permission "to exercise his gift in a public way as preaching of the gospel." The church postponed its decision on the matter until the next business meeting a month later. At The August meeting the church again delayed the decision and there was no further mention of it in the church records. Whether or not the church ever granted James' request, it is probable that he "exercised his gift" in some way within the slave community before and after he made his request to First Baptist Church. James remained a member in good standing at Columbia First Baptist until he received a letter of dismissal from the church in February 1836.[57]

In a similar case, that also may shed light on James' activity, the First Baptist Church of Columbia received a June 1840 request for admission into membership from James Hudson. Hudson, "a colored man," had a letter from a Baptist Church in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, that testified to his Christian character and confirmed that he had a "reputable gift as a public speaker in the cause of Christ." The First Baptist Church did not consent to Hudson's continued preaching as a member of the church. Despite First Baptist withholding its consent, the church learned that Hudson was already preaching among the Black people of Boone County, including in religious gatherings that Black members of First Baptist Church attended. Upon obtaining that information, the church "expressed itself as not objecting to the course" that Hudson had taken.[58] In effect the church sanctioned what was already a fact within the Boone County slave community. In both these cases, the "parishioners" were the Black population of Boone County. They were preaching regularly in the county when the church was not aware of their activity. Besides those free Black people and bond men who held licenses from a church there were other enslaved men who functioned as preachers without the sanction of the White churches.[59]

In St. Louis, the active presence of several Black ministers and the Black churches accounted for a high level of church membership among African Americans, both enslaved and free. The authors of slave narratives and the testimony of other ex-slaves confirm that the content of Black preachers' sermons were different with African American audiences, from what they preached in front of the White authorities. When speaking before audiences that included White members of the church, the Black preachers had to self-censor their speech to avoid statements that the authorities might deem as anti-establishment.[60]

Like the African American preachers, "Brother Tom," a Methodist class leader in St. Charles, Missouri was a rare exception to the general rule that African Americans did not hold leadership positions in the biracial churches. A small class of Black and White Methodists elected the man known only as Brother Tom, as their class leader. The Methodist class was the basic unit of organization at the

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lay level and as class leader Tom conducted prayer meetings and made reports to the minister concerning the members of his class. Tom's appointment had an instant impact as John Scripps, the minister who officially appointed Tom, noted that immediately after Brother Tom's appointment three African Americans joined the church.[61]

Mary Bell, formerly enslaved, also recounted that bond people, after attending the White church in the morning would hold their own services in the afternoon. As the language of Bell, Henry Clay Bruce, and others would indicate, the church they attended with the slaveholders was the "white church." They did not consider it necessarily as their own church or as a community in a biracial church although both Black and White were members of those churches. To the enslaved population they were merely "white" churches.[62] It was in what they considered to be their own churches and meetings that African American bond people maintained and advanced their version of Christianity. A version of Christianity that was antithetical to the pro-slavery views of the White church.

Although Many slaves attended White churches with their slave owners, as Lula Chambers indicates, they did not always attend as strictly a religious exercise. Though Black attendance in such cases was indeed still a way that knowledge of Christian doctrine was dispersed within the slave communities. Chambers was a freed woman living in St. Louis who noted that while she was enslaved, her mistress took her to church and that it was her job to take water to her mistress during church meetings. While Chambers was a faithful church member after emancipation, her words sound a cautionary note to those who might suggest that the biracial churches of the antebellum era formed an interracial community. Despite her attendance at the White church during slavery, she, like other African Americans who attended those churches, did not adopt beliefs that justified slavery. For her, going to church with her mistress was simply another chore. As she told an interviewer for the WPA, that even after the abolition of slavery her only religious difficulty was in forgiving White people for the way they treated Black people.[63]

Lou Griffin, by contrast to Chambers' attending the White church as a chore, recalled that the slaves on her plantation were not allowed to go to church unless the overseer was satisfied with their work and behavior.[64] Slaveholders' attitudes varied as to whether their slaves should or should not attend church. As the conflicting accounts given by Chambers and Griffin indicate, there was also variance in how the slaves themselves viewed attending the White church. In Griffin's case, attending church was a reward for completing their work. For Chambers, although she was a Christian, attending the White church was part of her role as a servant to her mistress. In both cases, individuals absorbed ideas about Christianity and Jesus.

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According to Donald Matthews, by 1830 there were 140,000 African Americans who were members of evangelical churches compared to about two million who did not hold membership in those churches.[65] When measuring the extent of adherence to Christianity among slaves or how widespread a basic knowledge of the tenets of Christianity were in the slave communities it is important to recognize that there were far more slaves familiar with Christianity than merely counting numbers on church rolls can reveal.[66]

Some slaveholders maintained plantation churches and did not use formal records to show attendance or membership. Smoky Eulenberg, who was in bondage near Jackson, Missouri, recalled that a minister came to the plantation where he lived once a month to preach to the slaves. At that time, they would gather at the big house where a Reverend Watts conducted the services. Likewise, Madison Ross, who had been a slave in Commerce, Missouri, also recalled church services held for Black people where Whites would also come to listen to the preaching. Part of the motive for White people attending may also have been for oversight. According to Tishey Smith, who was only a child during slavery in New Madrid County, Missouri, a White man conducted church services for the slaves under a brush arbor. Sarah Graves, born in 1852, had been a slave near Burlington Junction, Missouri and during the era of slavery, she had gone to church services that were held in a schoolhouse.[67]

Fil Hancock remarked that bond people in his community near Rolla, Missouri had church in brush arbor meetings, although he and the slaves that he knew did not go to a formal church. Hancock remarked that “we didn’t know nuthin’ bout churches” and that the older slaves would not take children to church. Under such diverse circumstances, it would be a mistake to suppose that slaves who did not have access to a formal church or did not hold membership in such organizations were ignorant of Christianity or could not have been Christians.[68]

As Hancock noted, enslaved people had church in brush arbors, which were the slaves’ own meetings that might be held apart from White people and without their knowledge, where the enslaved practiced their own version of Christianity. Such brush arbor churches were quite common. In some cases they might be the only religious gatherings that one attended. Similarly, for those who had church services on the plantation or farm, they might be at the “praise house.” The praise house was a structure in the quarters specifically designated for religious gatherings and enslaved people would have their meetings in them.

Alice Sewell, a formerly enslaved woman, talked about enslaved women in Missouri slipping “away to hold prayer meetings,” a reference to brush arbors. At the conclusion of their gatherings, these women also shook hands and sang, ‘fare you well, my sisters, I am going home.’” Individuals from neighboring

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farms or plantations might slip away to brush arbor or praise house meetings that were a part of enslaved networks.[69]

In fact, it was in such brush arbor churches, prayer meetings, and praise houses in the quarters where bond people's most significant Christian instruction took place. Susan Rhodes, for example, recalled that slaves would go off in the woods to have church for themselves. This was more to their liking than having church at the White church because in the woods they were free to have church "like de spirit moved us, sing and pray to our own liking and soul satisfaction."[70] In the White church, not only did the ministers subject them to condescending teachings that they did not accept, but there were also restrictions on the way they could worship. Consequently, the slaves' primary religious loyalty was in the gatherings of their own where they could be critical of slavery and express themselves according to their own deeply held beliefs.[71]

One appeal of Christianity was the idea, imparted in the slaves' version of Christianity, that the slaveholder ethic that condoned slavery was morally lacking and that slaveholders would one day suffer for their mistreatment of Black people.[72] The Methodist church still won at least some favor among bond people because of the perception that it was not as pro-slavery as other denominations. This could have been due in part to the continued presence of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North following the Methodist schism in 1844. For example, Peter Clay, a freedman, joined the Methodist Church after the Civil War, explained his choice of church by declaring that it was because he was for "freedom from slavery and freedom from sin."[73]

Also facilitating enslaved people's adoption of Christian ideas, Donald Matthews suggested that incorporation of ideas from Christianity that slaves found favorable was easily facilitated when he wrote that the "absence of a sacred/secular dichotomy in traditional thought" of enslaved African Americans made it easier for them to "include new images, symbols, or gods" in their belief system. In addition to the facility of their belief system to incorporate new ideas, Christianity, unlike the conjure traditions, "rejected historical inequities and inequality"[74] which would have made integrating it into their creed more appealing. Conversely, one reason the Episcopal Church probably did not win many adherents among the slaves was the high proportion of Episcopalians who were slaveholders.[75] Conversion of enslaved people to Christianity happened in a context of "adaptability of belief . . . whereby older belief systems affect the newer and vice versa."[76]

As Peter Clay's conversion demonstrates, Attraction to the idea of freedom was a major factor in African American conversion. Indeed, the Exodus story of Moses leading his people out of bondage had particular appeal to enslaved people who could identify with the enslaved people in the biblical story and take hope from its narrative of freedom from bondage. For enslaved African Americans, it affirmed the

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belief that they should have freedom in the here and now, not just in an afterlife.[77] That was the message in their brush arbor meetings and independent churches when there were no White people present.

Conversion to Christianity did not necessarily mean that converts abandoned the most effective means of day-to-day resistance or other methods of resisting slavery. According to an ad seeking Peter, a bondman who had run away, he "pretends to be religious and can read a little." Without discounting the possibility that Peter may well have only pretended to be religious, his behavior could just have likely arisen from an ethical imperative in African American Christianity that differed markedly from that of the White church.[78]

While increased religious choices in the antebellum decades could have potentially led to divisions that slaveholders could exploit,[79] historian Paul Escott found that "group loyalty overrode tendencies toward . . . divisions." And that the slave narratives have "scarcely one harsh word for the slave preachers." In another disjuncture from the ethics of slaveholding culture, while White ministers constantly preached to slaves that they must not steal from their masters, many enslaved Christians in fact did not feel guilty about taking from the slaveholder. What the slaveholders considered stealing, was consistent with the ethics of the slaves, who often viewed it as the justifiable appropriation of the fruits of their own labor.[80]

As the findings of this study confirm, enslaved people's Christianity was different from that of the slaveholders. The slaves accepted their own version of Christianity and rejected the proslavery church's doctrine that God meant for Black people to be unfree or the repeated admonitions of "slaves obey your masters." Enslaved people knew that they should be free and the strength of their belief in their own theology, which reinforced that knowledge, and their yearning for freedom was strong enough to resist the machinations of the slaveholder church. The fact that the conversion experiences of Black people and White people typically differed from one another was not without significance.[81] It indicated significant disjuncture about the meaning of Christian experience between bond people and the slaveholding class.

Some of the religious views that were widespread within slave community's Christian culture may have seemed foreign indeed to Euro-Americans in the White churches. For example, one slave expressed the belief that "Everybody in the world have got a spirit what follow 'em roun,'" This was a belief prominent among those held in bondage.[82] Rhody Holsell, enslaved in Fredericktown, Missouri, similarly expressed the theology of the individual consisting of multiple parts when she told a WPA interviewer her views on the nature of humanity. She said that people have three spirits, an "evil spirit in de grave," another spirit that wandered the earth, "and a spirit in heaven." Furthermore, African Americans, in their contact with Christianity, quickly noticed a parallel between African American

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slaves and the Hebrews in Egypt. That the Hebrews in bondage in Egypt were parallel to enslaved people in the United States was an idea that slaves were eager to seize upon.[83]

Whereas in the White church, mainstream society sought to impart its ideas into slave culture, the exchange actually went both ways. Pious slaves, for example, often made an impression on White observers. William Henry Schrader of Chariton County, Missouri, recalled a slave whom locals believed to be the oldest person in the county and regarded him as very pious. When his well ran dry instead of going to the spring which was far from the cabin, he prayed instead and "De Lord heard my prayer and the well am good as ever." According to Schrader, "natural conditions" brought the return flow but at the time the event happened he believed that it was a manifestation of God's goodness to "answer the prayer of a poor old negro."[84]

There were also times or events that were so traumatic that bond people could find solace only in their faith in the face of the hardships of slavery. Emilie Green recalled a slave on a neighboring farm who returned to his home from working in the fields only to find that his wife and child were gone, likely having been sold. This man fell to his knees and began to pray and cry out, "nobody know but Jesus! Nobody know but Jesus!" As he continuously kept up this behavior it started to make the slaveholder sympathize with him. Finally, the slaveholder became so moved that he fell to his knees with his slave and "fess religion." While the slave's anguish, grief, and expression of faith in Jesus deeply affected the enslaver, Green does not say that the slaveholder returned the bond man's wife and child to him.[85]

However, the adoption of Christianity did not entail completely abandoning folk beliefs. Ms. Eli Daniel had joined the White Methodist church when she was still enslaved, but she continued to believe in haints. The slaves on the plantation where she lived were convinced the tobacco factory on the plantation was haunted. They would not go near the factory at night, and it was said that if one went by it at night that they would hear the sounds of the machinery inside working and of slaves' ghosts "complaining and crying out" as they toiled inside.[86]

An emphasis on conflict between folk religion or conjure in the slave community, with its African background and Christians as their numbers expanded throughout the antebellum era may be exaggerated. As unique aspects of their theology as discussed above indicate, they intwined their conjure tradition with their faith in the Bible, Moses, and Jesus. Just as Donald Mathews noted that the "absence of sacred/secular dichotomy in traditional thought [of African Americans]" made it easier for them to "include new images, symbols, or gods" into their belief system,[87] John Thornton examined this issue further and noted that African and African American teleology allowed for the relatively easy assimilation of new revelation into their belief system without necessarily having a devastating effect on previously held beliefs. This allowed for the assimilation of Christian ideas into the belief system of

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slaves and hence helped give rise to the creation of African American Christianity.[88] Scholars may marvel at African American pastors in the post–Civil War period who preached the Christian gospel but nevertheless held equally strong belief in conjure. However, the pastors' parishioners took this seeming contradiction in stride. They did not share the belief that these pastors' situation was contradictory. Indeed, many Black Christians in the antebellum and postbellum periods held faith in the validity of both Christianity and traditional beliefs, which their view of revelation can explain.[89]

As African Americans in bondage became more familiar with the Christian gospel, they accepted it within the context of the African based beliefs that they already held. Their folk religion along with their social and political position as slaves formed the setting in which African Americans' Christianity diverged from that of the slaveholders' religion. Within this context slaves, although often members of the same churches as slaveholders, developed a Christianity distinctly different from that which the slaveholders wanted them to imbibe. Though there were certain broad aspects of religious belief that Africans and Europeans shared that facilitated African American conversion to Christianity such as belief in a supreme deity, belief in an afterlife, and the concept of revelation.[90] They came to Christianity from different political, social, and cultural positions.

The slaves' belief system accommodated the incorporation of new revelation as they could add new truths, maintain that which they already had, and could slough off that which no longer seemed useful or effective, or relevant to their situation in life.[91] That characteristic helped to alleviate potential conflict between seemingly competing belfies systems. Conflict within the slave community between Christianity and traditional folk religion was not as great as the conflict that would come later, during the post–Civil War era when African Americans from the North set out to evangelize those in the South, leading to tension between the Christian faith of those who had been enslaved and that of Northern free Blacks whose Christianity more closely resembled the orthodoxy of the evangelical North. Such conflict occurred when representatives of Northern African American churches tried to eradicate from the church some of the practices of the freedmen that had endured from the antebellum period.[92] The relative muting of religious conflict and the seemingly dual belief system of many within slavery is accountable to the African American concept of revelation. Whereas White Christians generally held to a system of closed revelation and a commitment to a denominational orthodoxy in the theological realm, the persistence of "superstition" among White Christians notwithstanding, Africans and consequently, African Americans incorporated a sense of continuous revelation in their belief system that mitigated against the idea of a set orthodoxy. That allowed for more flexibility when confronted with differing viewpoints, that enslaved African Americans could then incorporate into their belief systems if they found them to be useful.[93]

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Consequently, in the antebellum churches and slave communities of Missouri, African Americans accepted Christianity in the context of ideas of continuous revelation. This new revelation that they received through the spread of Christian ideas was taken as further revelation added to that which they already knew, their traditional beliefs. They did not become Christians because Christianity replaced their other beliefs entirely or necessarily matched them, rather they accepted Christian concepts, the gospel, and theologies about Jesus and Moses that dovetailed with their previously held concepts and that spoke to their experiences, and that they perceived as useful to them, and made sense to them as an explanation of their experiences, and found it applicable to their lives. Or as the theologian, Cecil Cone explained it 'Africans did not convert to Christianity—they converted Christianity to themselves.' [94]

In this context, widespread reports of conjurer/Christians among Black people in the South are more understandable. As late as 1887, the folklorist, Mary Owen, reported of one of her informants who held this belief system. The informant, a sexton at a Black Methodist church, also had a reputation as a powerful "voodoo." He and other voodoo practitioners, some of whom were church members, held regular meetings in the church.[95]

Many Christian bond people confessed faith in Jesus Christ while maintaining belief in various aspects of traditional religion, even in some cases, belief in the efficacy of seeking a conjurer. One could also point out that Euro-Americans often held simultaneous belief in orthodox Christianity and folk beliefs, termed "superstition," also.[96] The religious conversion experience that was a requirement for evangelicals and took place in such locations and circumstances as camp meetings and protracted meetings was an emotional experience and such conversions were themselves, "in effect, revelations of the Holy Spirit."

It was not necessary for slaves to camouflage their religion except to the extent that it was antislavery because slave owners, while wishing to suppress seditious talk and plots, were otherwise not overly concerned about whether their religious beliefs were "heathen" or not. Devout evangelical slaveholders, no doubt, sincerely hoped for the conversion of their slaves, however, forced conversions were not the norm. Indeed, the idea of forced conversion was contradictory to the belief system of evangelicals, hence the desire of Southern evangelical churches to win slaves' willing acquiescence to a proslavery Christianity, not merely their outside acceptance. But slaveholders were most concerned about rebellion. As long as they believed that slaves were not plotting insurrection or stealing themselves as runaways, slaveholders, except for the most devout, did not much concern themselves about theological orthodoxy in the slave community.

By 1860, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South had 17,717 White members and 2,006 Black members in Missouri.[97] This was roughly equivalent to the percentage of African Americans in the state'

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s total population. According to Dickson Bruce, overall church membership in the South was never more than one-fifth of the total population.[98] Seemingly low proportions of African Americans who held formal church membership should not be taken as the measure of how widespread Christian thought was within the slave community. By the start of the Civil War in 1861, the influence of Christian thought did indeed permeate the slave community.

It was the shared experience in slavery, the shared conviction that slavery was wrong and that God intended them to be free, and the shared religious heritage that although Christian, remained distinctively different from the proslavery Christianity of the slaveholding class, that bound slaves together in a community. The shared culture and heritage of the slave community, along with the racism of White churches, prevented the formation of true community between White and Black in the slaveholder's biracial church, or the "white church" as the slaves themselves saw it. As a final result, the Black church would become a dynamic institution in the remaking of African American life in the South in the decades following the Civil War.

Conjure gave Afro-Missourians knowledge about roots and herbs to treat their ailments or to strike back against their foes. It provided charms for their love life and protection from whippings. In the Bible they found Jesus, a powerful advocate who knew and understood their deepest travails. Travails that were so deep and painful that "nobody know but Jesus"; a God who assured them that slavery was not their destiny, that a Moses would arise, and freedom was their right. Christianity provided an ideology that was fit for a "modern" world that reminded the enslaved that the enslavers' morality was immoral. It was an ideology that the slaveholder confessed as his own, so the enslaved could still hold it as a mirror to the slaveholder and reveal his warts. Therefore, it was a belief system that the slaveholder had to make account to, an ideology that during the Civil War, the enslaved would deploy on behalf of their quest for freedom.

NOTES

1. Albert Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Eugene Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. (New York: Vintage Press, 1976), 186–284.

2. Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 33–38, quotes on pages 37 and 35, respectively.

3. Stuckey, *Slave Culture*, 367 note 89; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 209.

4. Norrece T. Jones, *Born a Child of Freedom Yet a Slave: Mechanisms of Control and Strategies of Resistance in Antebellum South Carolina* (Middleton, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), 133–34.

5. William Courtland Johnson, "A Delusive Clothing": Christian Conversion in the Antebellum Slave Community," *Journal of Negro History* 82 (Summer 1997), 296–302; Frederick Law Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveler's*

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Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States (New York: Knopf, 1953), 462; Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 280.

6. Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 209–10.

7. Clarence Walker, *A Rock in a Weary Land: The African Methodist Episcopal Church During Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 46–91.

8. Dickson Bruce, *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain Folk Camp Meeting Religion, 1800–1845* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974), 43; Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 170–79, quote on page 171; John Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 16–19.

9. Sand Run Primitive Baptist Church Record Book SHS, 3,4; Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 243–44; New Liberty Baptist Church Minute Book, SHS, October 1842, November 1842; New Salem Baptist Church Record Book, SHS.

10. Rufus Babcock, ed., *Forty Years of Pioneer Life: Memoir of John Mason Peck* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), 203.

11. John Mason Peck, letter 13 Sept. 1825, *American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer* Vol. 5 No. 12 (December 1825), 377, and letter dated September 27, 1822, in Vol. 4 No. 2, (March 1823), 71–72; Wigger, 35.

12. See Lanius, diary for a detailed example of the work of a Methodist circuit rider in Missouri in the 1830s including accounts of attendance at his church services.

13. Hannibal *Evening Courier Post*, 7B clipping in U.S. Works Projects Administration, 1935–1942, Historical Records Survey, Missouri, 1935–1942, Folder 13237; WPA, "Church History Sketch," Folder 12068; F.G. Swinton, "Sketch of the Life of David Doyle," New Salem Baptist Church Record Book SHS.

14. Babcock, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, 93–94; Marie George Windell, "The Camp Meeting in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 21, (April 1943); Milton E. Bierbaum, "Frederick Starr, A Missouri Border Abolitionist: The Making of a Martyr," *Missouri Historical Review* (April 1964), 313–15.

15. Jacob Lanius, *Diary*, March 16 1834; May 2, 1834, March 21, 1840, March 22, 1840.

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